

1959

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

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sion on June 10, 1959, before this Congress.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. President, at the third conference of NATO Parliamentarians in 1957, it was unanimously decided to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty with this Congress.

I have been inspired by these days of session with more than 600 of the most distinguished and able citizens from the NATO countries.

It is my hope—and indeed my prayer—that the concepts of political and economic unity which have emerged from this Congress will be enduring.

Today the free world is being stalked by those who would set back the course of civilization a thousand years. These exponents of an insidious ideology would destroy our liberty and substitute in its place a worldwide reign of suppression and exploitation.

It is not within our judgment to ignore their threats.

Mankind's course has been marked by many epic struggles between the forces of progress and retrogression.

From the triumph of these struggles have emerged many great declarations which define the rights of free men. These documents embrace humanity and serve as beacons even to those who now are held in the shadows. They are the light of the world and we must not permit their glow to diminish. Instead, we must preserve them for this and future generations yet unborn.

For, as stated in the Sermon on the Mount, men do not light a lamp and put it under a bushel. They hold it high for all to see.

In tracing the rich heritage of our civilization I am reminded of article II of the French Declaration of Rights, which I quote: "The aim of all political association is the preservation of man's natural and unalienable rights: these rights are liberty, property, and resistance to oppression."

Similarly profound statements are to be found in the great human documents of each and every nation assembled here today.

Suffice it to be said, we have a common heritage, a common enemy, and a common need.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was organized and supported in response to two great needs:

1. The necessity of military defense against Communist forces which threatened the way of life of its member nations.

2. The fact that member nations recognized they had a common way of life which they were determined to preserve and develop.

From a military standpoint, NATO has been a singular success. Through NATO action, member nations have made it severely clear to Soviet Russia that they will fight as a team in the event of aggression. The NATO nations have stood firm against the blusters and the threats of those who would clamp on iron band around all continents.

To be sure, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has been severely taxed at times because of internal dissension. Here again I am reminded of a classic phrase, this one in the Constitution of my own Government. The first sentence of my Constitution declares that, "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union."

The philosophy of that phrase should give courage to all of us. For the architects of good government all have recognized the need to refine the product of authority. It is the same with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Since its formation it has been our task to work for a more perfect community of nations.

That is why we have gathered here these past few days. We must take another several steps forward.

It has become increasingly apparent during the formative years of NATO that we should strengthen our political and economic ties so that our defense against communism will consist of three powerful prongs. This congress of citizens has recognized that we have political and economic problems which should and must be corrected.

There are trade problems which interlace into conflicting patterns. There are nationalistic programs which should and must be extended to the benefit of all free world nations. There are new nations in awakening areas of the world which need our help as we need theirs. There are ideas and hopes and projects which—if developed—might well circle the earth beyond the speed of guided missiles.

We know that Soviet Russia is able to achieve a monolithic discipline. The Communists can juggle their economy at will. They can hamper the orderly flow of goods to the markets of the world. They are able to divorce or to wed their policies to suit their cynical aims.

Let them have their schemes for such shall they be known.

With this congress we have begun to mobilize our genius and our integrity to define our honest intentions in realistic terms which will be understood by all people of good will.

But what we have done here is only the beginning. We have placed some general signposts. If this congress is to have served its purpose, however, what we do on following through on our own discussions will be of overwhelming importance.

When we return to our nations, we must see to it that our own national bodies are made and kept aware of the results of our sessions here. Those of us who are members of congresses and parliaments must attempt to bring about implementations of our decisions in our own national bodies. Those of us who are members of the NATO Parliamentarians Conference, which launched this congress, must now heed to the paths it has explored. We must see to it that our recommendations are brought to the attention of the North Atlantic Council. And those of us who are not members of our governments in any way must return to our own community and bring to the attention of public opinion the results of our sessions here.

The theme of this congress has been "The Atlantic community in the next 10 years."

The things we have begun here may well determine the character of our community in 1969.

Let us do our best in the task before us in what might be defined as your effort and my effort in behalf of civilization.

PROPOSED EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT OF PEACE

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, we are considering the Mutual Security Act of 1959. Although I have no amendment to offer at this hour of the evening, I wish to counsel with my colleagues in the Chamber, in reference to a bill for the establishment of an executive Department of Peace.

Mr. President, on March 25 of this year, the distinguished senior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY] entered in the RECORD a moving speech on the subject of world peace. I sat here and listened intently to what he had to say. His presentation was reasoned and ap-

propriate. At that time I had occasion to refer to the long history of the Senator's dedication to the cause of peace and to his early efforts to establish an executive Department of Peace.

It was my honor to share in these efforts, Mr. President, when I served as a Member of the House of Representatives. Briefly, to trace the history of these efforts: On July 7, 1943—when we had only begun to see the first glimpses of victory against the Axis Powers—Senator WILEY first made his suggestion on the floor of the Senate for a Department of Peace, headed by a Secretary of Cabinet rank.

On June 29, 1945, I introduced H.R. 3625, to create a Department of Peace. This bill was referred to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, before which I testified at some length.

Several West Virginians, including R. M. Davis, of Morgantown, who had initially advocated the proposal with me, were among those citizens who endorsed the idea.

In the same year, on July 6, Senator WILEY introduced in the Senate S. 1237—a somewhat different measure—to establish a Department of Peace.

Again, in the 80th Congress, my successor in the House of Representatives, the Honorable Melvin C. Snyder, introduced a measure similar to my previous one. And again, on H.R. 503, I testified before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

At that time, Mr. President, I stated my firm conviction—and I now quote from the record of the committee hearings—that—

The provisions of H.R. 503 are absolutely necessary as one very definite plan which will bear fruit, which will bring the people of this country to the realization that they have an obligation to engender here within our country those plans for peace which will embrace the other nations of the earth.

I noted then the need for a more unified and specialized approach to bringing about conditions of understanding, mutual respect, and appreciation, and good will among the peoples of the earth. And I stated then—and again I quote from the record:

I disagree with these people who say it is a program for Americans. It is a program for America in its relationship with people of the world. Educate our people, yes; but if those people in our country do not educate the people of the world, the job might well be stopped before it is started.

This was on June 18, 1947. What has the world experienced since then? Some 18 or 19 wars, involving a total of approximately 9 million members of armed services ranging in size and intensity from the bloody conflicts of Korea and the war in Indochina to the weekend war between Israeli and Egyptian forces in the Sinai Peninsula. Any one of these conflicts might conceivably have erupted into the horror of a general thermonuclear war.

Therefore, Mr. President, I return, after 14 years, to my initial plea for the establishment of a Department of Peace which will focus the energies and imagination of the American people upon the

paramount need of all the peoples in the world today.

Our late and very distinguished colleague—who served so ably in the cause of national strength as well as world peace—Senator Brien McMahon, once stated:

It is our solemn obligation, I think, to lift our eyes above the lesser problems that seem to monopolize our time and to discuss and act upon what, by any standard, is the supreme problem before our country and the world.

The supreme problem for all mankind, Mr. President, is the achievement of a just and lasting peace—or to live under the Damoclean sword of an almost universal nuclear destruction. In these terms, therefore, there are not several races of men, but in reality only one race of man—for it is mankind as a whole who will solve this problem—or mankind as a whole who will suffer the immeasurable horror of a general nuclear war. Men make war. Certainly men can make peace.

In truth, and in fact, there is but a single community of men. For all peoples—regardless of national loyalties, share certain common problems: the insufficiency or threatened exhaustion of the world's natural resources, the possible misuse of science and technology, and the exploding population of many regions of the world and the sickness and poverty that such conditions breed. These are the affairs of all men.

Yet ours is a schizophrenic age. For we live and act and think too often in the dream world of 18th and 19th century habits. In this world, national rivalries and international strife abide, and only fitfully and intermittently do we embrace the world of 20th century realities and work for the common weal.

This is a dream world, and a luxury we can no longer afford. For with each year of the uncontrolled armament race, with each increment in nuclear military technology, we bring more nations to the doorway of becoming full-fledged nuclear powers.

When the day arrives that some 10 or 15 nations are armed with nuclear weapons, it will tax the credulity of reasonable men to suppose that all of the leaders and all of the militarists in all of these nations will always exercise reason and discretion in the control of such awesome power. And yet, Mr. President, this is what we are asked to believe by those who maintain that the nuclear balance of terror will prevent war because no nation could be the victor. They are the dreamers, not we who look for a new approach to secure the peace.

It is argued that one of the chief functions of the State Department is to maintain the peace, and that creation of a new department would simply be a duplication of effort. I cannot accept this premise.

While it is true that this is also a function of the Department of State, our diplomats are often bound by tradition, as well as by their primary function of safeguarding our national interests. This is their task, and one with which I will not cavil. But it may also prevent them from observing certain ave-

nues and exploiting opportunities which might be seized by those whose concern embraces broader horizons.

A Department of Peace, for example, might help sponsor such international meetings as the famous Pugwash conferences among scientists and the Arden House Conference on Disarmament, which in March 1958, was sponsored by our distinguished colleagues, Senators SPARKMAN and HUMPHREY, and former Senator Flanders. Such nongovernmental conferences have frequently been the source of creative and constructive ideas which seldom have the opportunity of objective consideration in the more heated and partisan negotiations between foreign ministers. I cite but two among the many fruitful suggestions to emerge from these conferences, as follows:

Mr. Alfred Brookes, a member of the Australian Institute for International Affairs, suggested the establishment of an international recording center or joint inspection center for marshaling information and reporting on nuclear explosions from all over the world. Thus, by proper reporting, it might at least help avoid massive retaliation to an accidental explosion.

Also, Mr. Clark Eichelberger, Executive Director of the American Association for the United Nations, offered a proposal for an internationalization of American overseas bases in order to lessen the suspicion with which they are regarded in much of the world.

I do not suggest that either of these concepts is a finished product, but they are typical of the kind of ideas which can be generated in nongovernmental circles—and which, through a Department of Peace, could be channeled into government at the highest executive level.

In addition, the Department of Peace would coordinate and encourage the interchange of ideas and persons between colleges, churches, civic organizations, and similar groups, institutions, and organizations in other countries.

While we have already embarked on such activities in the student exchange, the cultural exchange, and people-to-people programs, we have only made a beginning. In Europe tonight my 20-year-old son is traveling with two other American youths. One of the young men is David Cole, the son of Sterling Cole, a former Member of the U.S. House of Representatives, who now has charge of the atomic energy program for the United Nations. The second member of the group is John Campbell, of Fairmont, W. Va., a student, with my son, during the past year at West Virginia University.

These three lads in their twenties are not just enjoying a trip because their fathers had the money to send them. In this, Frank, my son, saved his money over a period of 2 years, working on holidays and weekends and laboring during the summers, in an effort to secure the funds, at least partially, so that he might have this trip of 3 months to Europe; that he might visit some 18 countries; that he might rub shoulders with other young folk, and older folk; that he might

exchange ideas; that he might, yes, have a lift of the spirit as he met people who just a few months ago, or possibly a few years ago, lived in far away places having strange-sounding names; that he might embrace the opportunity to touch shoulders with those with whom he comes in contact.

So I call those three youths roving ambassadors. They are not skilled in international knowledge as the ambassadors of our diplomatic service. They are young men, who are not only having a thrilling experience in travel, but who are attempting to learn lessons in life. That is a natural and needed effect of the student exchange, the cultural exchange, and the people-to-people programs.

I say to the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY] that we have made a beginning even if slowly.

A special department charged with this responsibility would not only be able to offer greater coordination of effort, but it would hold immense symbolic value for the world at large in demonstrating that we are prepared to bring our most specialized and expert intelligence to bear on the problems of peace. I become aroused; yet I am a patient person.

It has been argued that such a department might come into conflict with the policies of the Department of State. If so, I say to the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. WILEY], who honors me with his presence, it would not be the first instance of interdepartmental conflict in our government. I would say, without being facetious, that such a possibility might be an argument favoring the creation of a Department of Peace. For it is no reflection on the character or intelligence of the personnel of the State Department to indicate that they are not endowed with infallibility. It might be a very healthy development to have a Cabinet member, charged with the primary responsibility of securing the peace, forcing the State Department, as it were, to defend its positions.

I observe the Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] in the Chamber. He has engaged in many controversies. One could hardly say that the public was not served by the intellectual conflict between Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson in the first Cabinet of President Washington. Dissent often serves a good purpose. From differences can come a later agreement.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RANDOLPH. I yield.

Mr. HUMPHREY. The Senator will recall that in one of our several private conversations today I commended him upon his excellent address before the international convention of Lions Clubs, that great civic and fraternal organization which is meeting in New York City. I was impressed by what the Senator had to say at that convention, because rather than to seek areas of conflict, he was trying to point the way to areas of understanding and agreement.

The Senator from West Virginia noted then, as he notes now, the great importance of a more determined application

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on the part of the leadership and the people of the United States for peaceful solutions of our international difficulties, or, as one might put it in scriptural terms, "walking the extra mile" toward seeking, however little it may be, or however insignificant it may seem, ways and means of bridging the great chasm of difference between ourselves and the rest of the free world, and those who live in the totalitarian world.

Mr. RANDOLPH. I remember that a little more than a year ago the Senator from Minnesota was one of the sponsors of the so-called Arden House disarmament conference. I am sure that out of that meeting came a stimulus in our striving for peace.

Mr. HUMPHREY. The Senate has its Subcommittee on Disarmament, which has attempted to focus some of the attention of Congress upon ways and means to try to ease the terrible arms race without, at the same time, jeopardizing our security.

I know that whenever I have traveled overseas, I have come back, particularly after having been in areas of great tension and strife, more convinced than ever of the importance of having our great country take the lead always in seeking a just and enduring peace; taking the lead to use health, food, education, cultural activities, and the exchange of persons as ways and means of disarming the international atmosphere. Before there will be real, genuine disarmament of weapons, it will be necessary to have a disarming of some of the attitudes, tensions, psychological factors in international affairs.

The way to accomplish that is through creative thinking, on the one hand, and creative thinking applied to problem areas, on the other.

The Senator from West Virginia is talking about focusing the attention of the people of the United States on the pursuit of peace. I may add that, very significantly, the Senator has brought to our attention the importance of focusing the attention of the world upon the great desire of the American people for a peace that is meaningful; not a peace of appeasement, not a peace of retreat, but a peace of growth, of progress, of understanding, of harmony.

I do not wish to take much of the Senator's time—

Mr. RANDOLPH. The Senator from Minnesota contributes much to this discussion. I am appreciative of the values in his considered judgment.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I thank the Senator. Pope John XXIII spoke today—

Mr. RANDOLPH. If the Senator will permit me to interrupt him at that point, only this morning Mrs. Randolph and I had a letter from our younger son. He told us he had experienced 50 minutes in the presence of the Pope within the past week. A devout Protestant boy was in an audience of the leader of the Roman Catholic faith.

We rub shoulders; we exchange ideas. Somehow or other, let us have a lift of the spirit which can understand the faiths of peoples; not to insist that others live in our own image; but to have

them know they are respected in their own customs and cultures and beliefs.

We should not force our own views upon the world; but with our superior wealth and good fortune we can bring a measure of compassion to this earth which has not yet been exhibited in the degree which is needed.

Mr. HUMPHREY. The Senator will perhaps be interested in this observation. I had made an address to a group of students. I was speaking of understanding, humanitarianism, an effective foreign policy, and so forth. One of the students came forward and asked, "Senator, why did you leave out the word 'love'?"

I replied, "Because, I suppose, it is a word which, in the context in which you are using it, is essentially spiritual, and I did not wish to trespass upon the prerogative of the clergy." The clergy were present at the meeting.

Then I began to think about it, because really, in truth, the young man who asked the question had put his finger on the greatest force in the world—the force of love.

Interestingly, we can study the writings of Marx and Engels; we can study the writings of Lenin and Stalin and of Malenkov and Khrushchev—at least as far as Malenkov—and conspicuous by its absence is the word "love." Communist writings are filled with the words "power," "force," "masses," "dynamism." All the power words are there except one, and I think this is very revealing.

The nature of the conflict or the contest today is of an ideological or a spiritual nature. I am hopeful that the people of the United States will realize that. One of our real weaknesses today is that we have been waging the struggle, so to speak, with the Soviets more or less on their terms.

When the Russians call us a bad name, we call them a worse one. When the Russians build a big weapon, we build a bigger one—whereas, in fact, the real advantage we have in this struggle, is in being ourselves. And being ourselves is what the Senator from West Virginia is talking about tonight. Our Nation has gained a worldwide reputation for justice—not mere military power, but justice.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Not to mirror our own efforts in relationship to what is happening in Russia, but to stand tall in our own responsibilities.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Yes, and to live up to our own standards and our own ideals.

The United States has gained a reputation for justice, compassion, humanitarianism, understanding, and forgiveness. Those are the really great strengths of our Nation and of free people.

When we apply these principles, although I know that in the hard, cruel world of today they sound rather esoteric and rather impractical, yet, I point out to my colleagues, how much more effective have all these harder things been.

Let me state that the Associated Press wire service reports that Pope John XXIII, in his first encyclical letter since

his coronation 8 months ago, has appealed to the leaders of rival nations to try every approach for peace, because a war with nuclear weapons would destroy victor and vanquished alike.

Pope John XXIII went on to say:

If—which God prevent—a new war breaks out, nothing else will await or confront all peoples—such are the dreadful armaments which our age brings into play—but appalling destruction and ruin, and this, whether they are victor or vanquished.

We therefore ask all, and statesmen in particular, that they ponder these matters prudently and earnestly before God, the Judge, and, as a result, with genuine good will, be ready to try every approach which may lead to the essential unity.

Mr. President, those are the words of a great spiritual leader who throughout his long and distinguished life and career as a churchman has demonstrated his devotion to the cause of true Christian peace and brotherhood. His plea to the world's statesmen deserves careful study and consideration.

It is most interesting that on the very day when this Christian leader, Pope John XXIII, speaks for the cause of peace, the Senator from West Virginia—perhaps by coincidence, or possibly by design—proposes the establishment of a Department of Peace.

I wish to compliment the Senator from West Virginia. I have heard all the arguments to the effect that our State Department takes care of that subject. Other proposals along that line have been made in the past, as the Senator from West Virginia knows. But the truth is that one of the sure ways really to concentrate our attention on these subjects is to particularize them and make them definite objectives of American life.

The proposal of the Senator from West Virginia and the message of Pope John XXIII relate to the most vital issue which faces us today.

If the Senator from West Virginia will permit, I should like to have the message of Pope John XXIII printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of the remarks of the Senator from West Virginia, because they fit so well the general tenor and philosophy of the proposal the Senator from West Virginia is making.

Mr. RANDOLPH. I shall be very happy to have that done.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Then, Mr. President, I so request.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, without referring to any particular form of religious faith, I urge that we again remember that the Man of Galilee spoke, while on earth, "For unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required."

It is important for us to think of the contributions—faltering though they may be at times—which we can make toward this search for peace.

I am very mindful of meaningful words of the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I am grateful to the Senator from West

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Virginia for his leadership and for his guidance and inspiration on these matters. Would that in this Chamber, every day, a Senator would speak out in such clear and uncluttered words and phrases of the profound meaning of those which have been used this evening by the distinguished Senator from West Virginia. The clarity of his message and his purpose surely warms the heart of every man, woman, and child in this country, because the Nation yearns for peace.

The Senator from West Virginia knows that when he talks of peace to audiences, they listen.

When we talk of the trivia of life, our audiences know it; we do not fool anyone.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, in response to the last observation made by the Senator from Minnesota, I recall the arduous months of campaigning in which I engaged last year. As my colleagues know, oftentimes we are so hurried in going from one group of voters to another that we attempt quickly to evaluate what they are thinking; and oftentimes in West Virginia, with deep pockets of unemployment, and with men yearning for work, naturally they were particularly interested in earnings which would go into their pocketbooks. That would be the subject of their conversations with us. But as I have had opportunity to visit with them at more leisurely times and to talk about the problems of the world in which we live, this father or that mother would express the hope that their children might attend high school and college and marry and live in a world of peace; and they were wondering whether that vision could be vitalized; and, really, their eyes were misty as they spoke of the possibility of their lives and their children's lives being set in a world of men and women having a greater measure of understanding than at the present hour.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, will the Senator from West Virginia yield to me?

Mr. RANDOLPH. Certainly.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the debate on the Mutual Security Act has certainly produced a great deal of talk in this Chamber. I have followed it as closely as I could.

But in my judgment the suggestions of the Senator from West Virginia and the observations and comments of the Senator from Minnesota represent the best thoughts which have been brought to this debate on attitudes we should have in our efforts to reach the goals the whole world seeks—the goals of peace—and the ways to reach those goals.

I was particularly interested in some of the things the Senator from West Virginia said.

Tonight, I was supposed to speak at Colgate University, in Hamilton, N.Y., at the 11th annual foreign policy conference held by the university. Of course, our business here has prevented my appearance there.

In preparing for my talks there, I read a statement by Barbara Ward, who writes for the New York Times and other

publications, as all of us know. She is a woman of great understanding. In a lecture at the University of Ghana, she uttered a comprehensive judgment on western policy in a single paragraph:

If the Communists need to shed their vision of world order, the Western Powers need to gain one—not, I hasten to say, a comparably ideological and rigid picture, but rather a sense of community and responsibility shared with all mankind. I do not believe they possess a consistent view today. The European powers have sloughed off colonialism too recently to be fully alive to the realities of the new world they have helped to create. America is by tradition too prosperous, too fortunate, too protected to feel, naturally and urgently, the necessity of world policies or of a world strategy for peace. The result of this vacuum is that western policy has tended to be a simple reaction to the various Communist dealings, a rushing to and fro, plugging up one hole as a new one bursts through, immersed in tactics, void of broad strategy and never quite catching up on one crisis before the next one looms and breaks.

It is to meet that feeling, I would judge, that the Senator from West Virginia submitted his thoughts tonight and his plans for the establishment of a Department of Peace. I suppose that will take a great deal of work. Certainly I think there is great good in his proposal.

As we are preparing to talk on Main Streets and in the parks and at the celebrations of the anniversary of the birth of this country, I think we would be well advised not only to look back to the glory of the beginning of our country, but also to look to other countries of the world who shared with us in the early days of our country.

Now we are prosperous. We could be more prosperous; but, in relative terms, we are prosperous beyond any measure of comparison with so many of the underdeveloped areas of the world. We have the responsibility to which the Senator from West Virginia has directed attention.

That is my message for the Fourth of July.

In conclusion, let me state that in the House version of the mutual security bill there was added a provision to permit, in connection with the Special Assistance Fund, authorization for this part of the \$10 million to be used for hospitals constructed abroad by Americans. In the present provisions, schools and libraries are included.

The House now has included provision for an opportunity for us to help other people in other parts of the world with hospitals.

The Senate version is somewhat different. It deals more with research, I believe; and it is not quite so broad in its opportunities as is the House version.

Although I am not planning to take the time of the Senate to submit an amendment, I hope that in the conference the Senate conferees will think carefully and will look with sympathy on this provision, which, again, would express the humanitarianism of our country, which the Senator from Minnesota has so ably described tonight.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I want the Senator from New Jersey to

know that that matter was brought up in the committee; and I am sure it is our intention to maintain this provision in the conference. This provision gives us something for the conferees to use and go on, in terms of the amounts.

The Senator may recall that the House provided for \$10 million. We provided for \$20 million. This provision gives the Senate conferees a chance to bargain in the conference, and not to permit the school program to be weakened. We were worried lest the school programs be chipped away.

Now, with the \$10 million voted by the House and the \$20 million voted by the Senate, we shall be able to take care of both.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I am very glad to hear that from the Senator from Minnesota. I believe the Senator knows that one of the proposals which we have made in that direction is the building of a hospital for children in Krakow, Poland.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I proposed that same amendment in committee, and spoke about it on May 3, on Polish Constitution Day, in Chicago, and I called my program the charter of hope.

I know the Senator from New Jersey has been one of the foremost advocates of such a proposal. What a wonderful thing for the United States to do behind the iron curtain in that nation of freedom, Poland, as a symbol of democracy—a children's hospital. There the Soviets have a tremendous statue of Stalin. Let them have their statue of Stalin, and let us have our children's hospital, and then let us see how the Polish people respond. They have already responded. They are as anti-Communist, man for man and woman for woman, as the people of any nation in the world, and they are filled with a love of life and freedom. What a great thing this will be.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I certainly agree with the Senator. There would be many grateful people if we could realize our objective. We are grateful to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I would have hoped the speech from which the learned Senator from New Jersey quoted, and which he had intended to give tonight in New York State, might have been delivered as a stimulating goal for the thoughts of a youthful audience.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. I must correct the Senator. There are adults gathered at the conference there. The speech will be read. I hope it will not bring any retribution upon the person who is going to read it, who happens to be an employee of the State Department.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Was the meeting at Hamilton College?

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. No. It was at Colgate University, at Hamilton, N.Y.

Mr. RANDOLPH. I am thinking of Hamilton College at Clinton, N.Y. Elihu Root, able jurist, was once the chairman of the board of trustees of that institution. He was very punctual. He was always in his chair on time for the board meeting, and rapped the gavel for the

beginning of the session at the exact hour for which it had been set. Oftentimes there were very few who were there on the minute, and Root would scowl frankly at the few who were there. Really, he was scowling, in the second degree, at those who were not present.

Then came the day when the board members were present, and he was rather late in arriving. They smiled indulgently as he came in. He took his seat, rapped his gavel, and apologized for being tardy. He remarked, "As I was coming up the long hill to the college today, I began to take stock of my shortcomings, and I must admit to all of you that it took much more time than I had anticipated."

So there are, my colleagues, these shortcomings which we must admit in the pursuit of peace.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RANDOLPH. I yield to my friend from New Jersey.

Mr. KEATING. I simply was going to correct the record on behalf of my colleague from New Jersey. He was to speak today at the forum at Colgate University. I know they regret not having had the benefit of hearing him, although his speech was read, as I understand. It is my pleasure to listen to my distinguished friend from West Virginia, but I plan to take a 7:20 a.m. plane tomorrow morning, provided the Senate has finished by that time. [Laughter.]

Mr. RANDOLPH. The Senator has no real doubt?

Mr. KEATING. No, I have no real doubt.

If this session has adjourned in time for me to catch the plane—and I shall certainly stay here, because I want to hear the Senator—I shall be at the same forum, although I likewise have sent a speech on ahead to be read, as did my dear friend from New Jersey.

While I am on my feet, I want to commend the Senator from West Virginia for his address this evening and for focusing our attention on what is so important and what should be our aim in all our considerations here—the achievement, insofar as this body can have a hand in it, of world peace; and the proper way to do that, it seems to me, is by maintaining a strong America, as I know my friend from West Virginia believes.

Mr. RANDOLPH. I am very appreciative of the remarks of the able Senator and of the references the Senator has directed our attention to this evening.

I have occupied, of course, much less than 1 hour, perhaps only 30 or 40 minutes, but that may be too long. A few months ago I had delivered a banquet speech. Mrs. Randolph and I were driving home after that address. I think it is factual to say we were driving in stony silence. I presume some of my colleagues have driven that way with their wives toward their residence. [Laughter.] I thought there would be a commendation for the talk I had given. There was not. I turned to her and asked, "How did I do this evening?" and

she fittingly replied, "Very well, except you missed several excellent opportunities to sit down." [Laughter.] So I shall not stand too much longer.

Mr. KEATING. I hope my friend does not misunderstand me. I benefit from every word he says, and I am sure that, no matter how long he continues, I will still remain.

Mr. RANDOLPH. I thank the Senator. I understand.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RANDOLPH. I yield to my beloved colleague from Wisconsin.

Mr. WILEY. I want to thank the Senator from West Virginia for revitalizing in me a dream I had some years ago. I also wish to say I have experienced tonight a real sort of pickup. I heard the discussion between the Senator from West Virginia and the Senator from Minnesota, and I began to realize that perhaps there is such a thing as a thing of the spirit that exists among Senators. Ordinarily in the daytime we do not see any demonstration of it, but tonight we have seen it. There is a reaching out.

After all, perhaps what we have seen tonight is a symbol of the exploratory age in which we are living. We have explored in every other direction. Now let us explore in the direction of seeing if there is not a way to find what has been talked about—peace in the hearts and minds and souls of humanity. I take it that is what a Department for Peace would do. Again I want to thank the Senator for a very interesting talk, which has been inspirational in the extreme. It has given me what someone has called a spiritual cocktail. I feel it has lifted me up and has said to me, "There is still hope for the U.S. Senate."

Mr. RANDOLPH. The Senator from Wisconsin is very considerate.

Mr. President, I shall soon reach a conclusion. I was just thinking how important it is that we remember, perhaps, to smile and spin a story. Sometimes we take ourselves too seriously as individual Senators, but certainly we cannot fail to take seriously this job which is before us of searching for a path we can follow toward a fruitful peace.

I tell this story, and then conclude with a final thought. A certain professor was grading examination papers, and a student of the faculty member a quarter century before stopped by to pay his respects. He looked over the shoulder of his old "Prof." and explained, "Well, you are asking the same questions now that you asked me 25 years ago when I was a student in your class." The professor said, "Yes, I am asking the same questions." The former student asked, "Aren't you afraid the students will pass on the answers to the students who follow them?" And the professor smiled and observed, "No, I ask the same questions every year; I just change the answers." [Laughter.]

These old problems are with us. These age-old problems in the quest for understanding, for a solution to tragic conditions in the world, cry out for us to summon the best that is within us to achieve

a just and a lasting peace. Oh, my legislators, would that we might do an enduring job.

To my colleagues in the Chamber and to our guests in the gallery, let us remember that on the frontispiece of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists is the design of a clock, with the hands standing at 2 minutes till midnight. Only by new and creative efforts will we forestall the midnight of mankind.

I ask that my bill for the establishment of an executive Department of Peace be appropriately referred and printed in the Record at the close of these remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 2332) to establish an executive department to be known as the Department of Peace, introduced by Mr. RANDOLPH, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Government Operations, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

ESTABLISHMENT OF DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. (a) There is hereby established an executive department of the Government to be known as the Department of Peace (hereinafter referred to as the "Department"), at the head of which shall be a Secretary of Peace (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary"), who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and shall receive compensation at the rate provided by law for heads of the executive departments.

(b) There shall be in the Department an Under Secretary of Peace who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and shall receive compensation at the rate provided by law for under secretaries (other than the Under Secretary of the Department of State). The Under Secretary shall act as Secretary during the absence or disability of the Secretary or in the event of a vacancy in the office of Secretary, and shall perform such duties as may be prescribed by the Secretary or by law.

PROVISIONS OF LAW APPLICABLE TO THE DEPARTMENT

SEC. 2. Except to the extent inconsistent with this Act, all provisions of law applicable to the executive departments generally shall apply to the Department.

SEAL

SEC. 3. The Secretary shall cause a seal of office to be made for the Department, of such design as the President shall approve, and judicial notice shall be taken thereof.

FUNCTIONS OF SECRETARY

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall—

- (1) formulate and publicize educational programs for promoting better understanding of other peoples of the world and of the fundamental principles of international relations and of cooperation among nations;
- (2) encourage the interchange of ideas and of persons between (A) colleges, churches, civic organizations, and other institutions, organizations, and groups in the United States, and (B) other similar institutions, organizations, and groups in other countries; and
- (3) assist educational institutions and religious organizations in the United States in formulating educational programs dealing

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with international relations, international cooperation, and the problems of peace.

DELEGATION OF AUTHORITY

SEC. 5. The Secretary may, without being relieved of his responsibility therefor, and unless prohibited by some specific provision of law, perform any function vested in him through or with the aid of such officials or organizational entities of the Department as he may designate.

EXPENDITURES AUTHORIZED

SEC. 6. The Secretary is authorized to make such expenditures (including expenditures for personal services and rent at the seat of government and elsewhere, for lawbooks, books of reference and periodicals, and for printing and binding) as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act, and as may be provided for by the Congress from time to time.

REPORTS TO CONGRESS

SEC. 7. The Secretary shall make at the close of each fiscal year a report in writing to Congress giving an account of all moneys received and disbursed by him and the Department, describing the work done by the Department, and making such recommendations as he shall deem necessary for the effective performance of the duties and purposes of the Department.

AMENDMENT

SEC. 8. Section 158 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, as amended (5 U.S.C. 1), is amended by inserting at the end thereof the following:

"Eleventh: The Department of Peace."

APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZED

SEC. 9. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to enable the Department to carry out the provisions of this Act and to perform any other duties which may be imposed upon it by law.

EXHIBIT 1

OF NUCLEAR ARMS

VATICAN CITY, July 2.—Pope John XXIII appealed today to the leaders of rival nations to try every approach for peace because a war with nuclear weapons would destroy victor and vanquished alike.

The 77-year-old head of the Roman Catholic Church also appealed for Christians to reunite. He urged the press, movies, and television to counteract what he called a spreading tendency toward falsehood and immorality.

"Truth, unity, and peace" were the subjects of the pontiff's first encyclical letter to the bishops of his church since his coronation 8 months ago.

The encyclical began with the words "ad Petri cathedram"—"near Peter's chair." It was dated June 29, feast day of St. Peter, and was released for publication today.

WARNS OF CRISIS

The pontiff warned that if nations do not aim at fraternal unity which must rest on the precepts of justice and be nourished by charity, conditions of gravest crisis remain.

"As a result all prudent men complain and grieve that it seems to be uncertain whether the same events are moving toward the establishing of a solid, true, and genuine peace, or are slipping in complete blindness toward a new and frightful warlike configuration.

"We say in complete blindness: For if— which God prevent—a new war breaks out, nothing else will await or confront all peoples (such are the dreadful armaments which our age brings into play) but appalling destruction and ruin, and this, whether they are victor or vanquished.

"We therefore ask all, and statesmen in particular, that they ponder these matters prudently and earnestly before God the

Judge, and, as a result, with genuine good will, be ready to try every approach which may lead to the essential unity. This harmony and unity, by which alone, we say, the joint prosperity of nations will undoubtedly be increased, will be able to be restored only when minds are at peace and the rights of all recognized, and due freedom shine forth for the church, for peoples, and for the individual citizen."

MEN CREATED AS BROTHERS

The Pope urged the leaders of nations to remember that God created men not as enemies but as brothers.

He warned repeatedly and in plain language of the ruin which will result if the fires of discord are set ablaze again in a world which he said already has seen too much of war.

"Why * * * prepare death-dealing weapons against our brother?" he asked. "Already there has been enough strife among men. * * * Already too many cemeteries of those fallen in war cover the earth's surface and solemnly warn that all should be, at long last, unity and a just peace."

In the first section the pontiff wrote of the search for truth. He referred specifically to the responsibilities of the press, the movies, and television.

The pontiff wrote in the second part of unity in the desire for peace on the part of mankind, peoples, and social classes.

MENTIONS ECUMENICAL COUNCIL

In the third section he mentioned the ecumenical (universal) council of the Roman Catholic Church which he has called. He said this council would contribute to the unity of the church.

The Pope said the Roman Catholic Church is the father house of all Christianity and that its doors are open for all to reenter.

Of the responsibilities of writers and the press, the Pope said:

"Those who deliberately and wantonly attack the known truth, and in their speech, writing, and action employ the weapons of falsehood in order to attract and win over uneducated people, to mould the inexperienced and impressionable minds of the young and fashion them to their own way of thought, certainly are abusing the ignorance and innocence of others, and engaging in a practice wholly to be condemned.

"In a special manner, then, we are compelled to exhort to a careful, exact and prudent exposition of the truth, those who by means of books, reviews, and daily papers, so abundant at the present time, make such a great contribution to the teaching and training of the minds of their fellow citizens, especially the young, and to the moulding of their opinions and the regulating of their habits. These same men are gravely bound in duty not to disseminate lies, error, obscenity, but only the truth, and in particular to publicize that which leads, not to vice, but to good and virtuous practices."

WARNS ON NEW ARTS

Turning to radio, motion pictures and television, the Pope declared:

"Granted that from these there can arise inspiration and encouragement to what is good and honorable and in accord with Christian virtue: Yet often, alas, they can be the source of enticement to loose morals, to disorderly life, to the snares of error and treacherous vices, especially in the minds of the young.

"Against broadcasts, motion pictures and television shows which incite to error or the attraction of vice, must be projected those which uphold truth and strive to preserve wholesome morality. In this way, these new arts which have so much power for harm, may be turned to the salvation and benefit of mankind and linked with honest pleasure, and provide a remedy from the very source whence the evil poison so often is supplied."

The 77-year-old head of the Roman Catholic Church wrote that once "truth is grasped in its fullness * * * the idea of unity ought to permeate minds and hearts and actions.

URGES LOVE OF TRUTH

"For all discord, disagreement and disputes have their origin in this source, namely, the truth not known or, what is worse, the truth examined and understood but rejected either for the sake of advantages and benefits * * * or on account of that perverted blindness by which men too easily seek justification for their vices and evil deeds.

"A sincere love of truth, then," the Pope continued, "is essential for all, whether private citizens or those who hold the destinies of nations in their hands, if they wish to attain that harmony and peace from which can arise true prosperity, whether of individuals or of whole peoples."

The Pope said that only if men "are eager for peace, as they ought, and not for war" can the whole human family obtain its "desired unity."

"Those who oppress others, who deprive them of rightful liberty, undoubtedly can contribute nothing to this unity."

The Pope did not mention individuals or nations by name. But in recent days he has attacked Communist nations for depriving their citizens of individual freedom.

MUTUAL SECURITY ACT OF 1959

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 1451) to amend further the Mutual Security Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes.

Mr. MORSE obtained the floor.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. I yield to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, earlier today, in the discussion of the amendment relating to the availability of information from the International Cooperation Administration to the Members of Congress and to the appropriate committees of the Congress, I referred to my amendment "6-29-59-C."

I ask unanimous consent to have the text of that amendment printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the amendment was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

On page 26, between lines 21 and 22, insert the following:

"(g) Amend section 534, which relates to reports to the Congress, by inserting '(a)' immediately after 'Reports,—' and by adding at the end thereof the following:

"(b) All documents, papers, communications, audits, reviews, findings, recommendations, reports, and other material which relate to the operation or activities of the International Cooperation Administration shall be furnished to the General Accounting Office and to any committee of the Congress, or any duly authorized subcommittee thereof, charged with considering legislation or appropriation for, or expenditures of, such Administration, upon request of the General Accounting Office or such committee or subcommittee as the case may be."

"Reletter (g) to (j) inclusive as (h) to (k), respectively."

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the reason I make this request is that during the colloquy and discussion of the amendment which was offered by the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON] which contained identical language to